# DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

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THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 13, 1932, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1931. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Muslim communities disagreed with the conclusions of the earlier given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

| Communities | Inhabitants | Emigrants | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Maronites ... ... ... ... | 318,201 | 91,270 | 409,471 |
| Sunni ... ... ... ... | 225,594 | 4,913 | 230,507 |
| Shi'ah ... ... ... ... | 200,698 | 9,367 | 210,065 |
| Greek Orthodox ... ... ... | 106,658 | 33,655 | 140,313 |
| Druzes ... ... ... ... | 71,711 | 4,863 | 76,574 |
| Greek Catholics ... ... ... | 61,956 | 13,272 | 75,228 |
| Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians) | 58,007 | 66 | 58,073 |
| Minorities ... ... ... ... | 41,596 | 2,159 | 43,755 |
| Total | 1,084,421 | 159,571 | 1,243,992 |

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

| *Communities.* | *1932 Census.* | *End 1943.* | *Difference.* | *Percentage.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunni ... ... | 179,667 | 225,594 | 45,927 | 31·1 |
| Shi'ah ... ... | 159,133 | 200,698 | 41,565 | 38·5 |
| Druzes ... | 56,297 | 71,711 | 15,414 | 38·0 |
| Maronites ... | 269,620 | 318,201 | 48,581 | 18·0 |
| Greek Catholics | 55,045 | 61,956 | 6,911 | 12·5 |
| Greek Orthodox | 92,991 | 106,658 | 13,667 | 13·0 |

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

ing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Fourteen pro-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen pro-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or three, as large as the Druses and Shiites, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

167 This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave
168. and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

The total population counted for the Core Group, 323, includes married women from other villages in the Qurnā or from outside the Qurnā (the latter are rare). It also includes Core Group women who have been taken by men from outside the Qurnā or from other villages in the Qurnā (the latter are rare), but it does not include their husbands or their children except, of course, in the case of Affiliate Families. The first inclusion conforms with the law and with general attitudes, both of which hold that a woman becomes a member of her husband's family. The second inclusion conforms with another cultural norm to the effect that marriage to an outsider does not disown a woman from affiliation with her natal family or lineage. (The father, brothers, or patrilineal first cousins of a woman whose marriage, for any reason, is dissolved are morally obligated to come to her assistance if necessary.)

Three families have been excluded from the Core Group count. The first is that of a Greek Orthodox man from Beirut who rents a house in Mīlwī for the summer. He is not a legal resident of the village. His wife is a sister of two Core Group members, but their family has predominantly outside connections.

The second is a family of lineage AJV which has lived in Jbeyl for several decades and appears to have lost all but nominal connection with the village.

The third excluded family perhaps should not be excluded. It lives in Burbara close. The head of the family was in America for a long time. When he returned to Munṣif, his brother had taken over the family house, and there was no room for him. He bought land in Burbara and settled there. The legal residence of the family was not ascertained. The wife is a member of lineage C.XXI, and there are ten children—six daughters, and four sons. Three of the daughters are married—one to a member of her own minimal lineage, C.XVI, another to a Greek Orthodox outsider (in 1943), and the third to a Maronite (in 1946).

One birth, four marriages, and two deaths occurred during the period of study, and the various tabulations take cognizance of all but the deaths. As of the beginning of the study, the Core Group included nine widowers (two of whom were married twice) and twenty-three widows, (eight and twenty-two at the end of the study). The marriages which these individuals contracted are *included* in the marriage data which will be analyzed in a later chapter.

## AGE AND SEX RATIOS

Table 3 shows the Core Group in terms of age and sex. It will be observed that females exceed males by only seven, 265 as against 258. In the writer's opinion, the only striking fact which the table reveals is the disproportionately small size of age group 25–34 in the females and age group 25–44 in the males. For this, there are three possible explanations: (1) Emigration was at its peak in the years immediately preceding World War I, and so a large number of potential

7: Golick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



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TABLE 3. CORE GROUP: BY AGE AND SEX

| Age Group | Male | Female | Total | Age Group | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0- 4 | 24 | 19 | 43 | 50-54 | 17 | 11 | 28 |
| 5- 9 | 23 | 26 | 49 | 55-59 | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| 10-14 | 31 | 27 | 58 | 60-64 | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| 15-19 | 31 | 31 | 62 | 65-69 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| 20-24 | 30 | 25 | 55 | 70-74 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| 25-29 | 20 | 21 | 41 | 75-79 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| 30-34 | 10 | 11 | 21 | 80-84 | 1 | — | 1 |
| 35-39 | 13 | 23 | 36 | 85-89 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 40-44 | 13 | 20 | 33 | | — | — | — |
| 45-49 | 22 | 19 | 41 | Total | 258 | 265 | 523 |

parents and older members of these age groups were removed from the scene at that time. (2) It was said that during the War one hundred villagers died directly or indirectly of malnutrition which was a consequence of the Turkish blockade of Lebanon and other evils caused by the war. It is reasonable to suppose that children and adolescents formed a large proportion of those who succumbed during the crisis. (3) No marriages were contracted during the war years. In this connection, we are reminded of Jurkat's statement (1944, p. 311) that the steady population growth of Lebanon was interrupted in the period 1915–1922.

Table 4 shows the number of living children for each married pair (including widows and widowers) in the village. It includes twenty couples, who are probably still in the process of enlarging the number of their children. There were only two cases of childless couples.

No data were obtained on infant and child mortality. The writer's impression is that in recent years, at least, the rate has been low. The table represents a considerable time-span, but all within the period of acculturation. Within this period, no general shift in the number of children per couple is evident. The village genealogy is not suitable for estimating the number of children in past periods

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN PER MARRIED COUPLE

| Number of Children | Number of Couples | Number of Children | Number of Couples |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6 | 7 | 3 |
| 2 | 16 | 8 | 3 |
| 3 | 20 | 9 | 1 |
| 4 | 12 | | |
| 5 | 11 | Mean number of children | 3.8 |
| 6 | 6 | Modal number of children | 3.0 |

421 162 ...women in this study only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Thomas's statement that in Rahalmiyeh, a mainly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Rahalmiyeh, Mtoqfel, and Ghazzeiyeh (Thomas, 1949a, p. 166).

## HEALTH

114 297 With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practice and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

421 512 There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Khalidun & Gulick, 1956, p. 404). Mtoqfel has been a predominantly endogamous population for fifteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of second, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

The living patterns of the summer residents generally resemble to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day taxi, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gaulis, 1951, pp. 111–12). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jordan who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jordan, 1944, p. 102).

Twenty-two individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ehden than it is in the village proper, partly because Ehden is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. Ehden's population is as follows: resident, 59; summer, 42; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of the eleven households is wholly resident, and those of them are wholly summer.

## OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 3 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males for records that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in sex ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



the 87 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of sixty-nine, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The "R" and "S" columns indicate the number of individuals who hold, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

TABLE 5. OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES, AGES 15–69

| Age | Sex | | Occupation | | | | | | | | | | | | | Residence | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Village Worker | Urban | Village Merchant | In School | In Religious School | In Tech. School or College | Police Cadet | City Worker or Merchant | Armchair | Farmer | Idle | Unemployed | | R | S |
| 15–19 | 39 | 38 | | | 1 | 27 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 5 | | | 7 | | | 23 | 54 |
| 20–24 | 25 | 11 | 2 | | 1 | | | 4 | 1 | 7 | | 6 | 9 | 4 | | 5 | 28 |
| 25–29 | 22 (1)* | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 4 | 9 | | 4 | 5 | 5 | | 6 | 19 |
| 30–34 | 9 (4) | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 4 | | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 8 |
| 35–39 | 8 (2) | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 7 |
| 40–44 | 19 (17) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 5 | | | | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | 11 | 12 |
| 45–49 | 16 (15) | 3 | 5 | | 4 | | | | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 9 | 10 |
| 50–54 | 14 (12) | | | 2 | 7 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 13 | 1 |
| 55–59 | 12 (12) | | 2 | 3 | 5 | | | | | 1 | | | | 3 | | 8 | 2 |
| 60–64 | 6 (5) | | | | 2 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | | 4 | 1 |
| 65–69 | 5 (2) | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | 2 | |
| Total | 171 (76) | 44 | 14 | 10 | 25 | 28 | 9 | 11 | 17 | 37 | 5 | 17 | 24 | 19 | | 85 | 122 |

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

In addition:
Housewives, or "at home" (all female) = 120.
Occupations not recorded (2 male, 2 female) = 4.

be readily seen, have the latter. In terms of gainful employment, 102 persons work in urban jobs (subtracting 20, the number of these in boarding school and college, from 122). Similarly, the total of 85 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 57 by subtracting the 28 pupils in the village schools. In addition, most of those listed as unemployed are village residents. The "R" and "S" columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people to predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the least reliable in the table. In the first place,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Munqiṭ also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥiin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'ishta, just outside the Qurni, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Keen, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mayor | 1 | Fishermen | 5 |
| Taxi driver | 1 | Surveyor | 1 |
| Barber | 2 | Mason | 2 |
| Priest | 1 | Carpenter | 2 |
| Storekeeper | 8 | Teacher | 4 |

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*naṭuur*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former mayors

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Protestant preacher | 1 | Seamstress | 5 |
| Detective | 1 | Waiter | 3 |
| Fireman | 1 | Hospital attendant | 4 |
| Soldier (sergeant) | 1 | Janitor | 2 |
| Tailor | 2 | Surveyor | 1 |

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

## MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

| | MEN | | WOMEN | | | MEN | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AGE | Single | Married | Single | Married | AGE | Single | Married | Single | Married |
| 15–19 | 39 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 30–34 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 7 |
| 20–24 | 30 | 1 | 17 | 7 | 35–39 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| 25–29 | 15 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 40–44 | 2 | 14 | 0 | 12 |

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From fifteen to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age-groups concerned; this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an elder brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

| Difference in Age in Years | No. of Marriages | Difference in Age in Years | No. of Marriages |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0– 1 | 6 | 7– 8 | 4 |
| 1– 2 | 3 | 8– 9 | 5 |
| 2– 3 | 3 | 9–10 | 3 |
| 3– 4 | 3 | 10–11 | 5 |
| 4– 5 | 7 | 11–12 | 4 |
| 5– 6 | 9 | 12–13 | 2 |
| 6– 7 | 3 | 13–14 | 1 |

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 15-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

## THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" woman's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

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165 The writer believes that such a high rate of increase is a true representation of the situation. The facts that tend to support this belief are: the strong desire for children, the large number of children per family, and the healthy condition of the people. This was further verified by mapping the village structure over a period of years. Each map showed the number of households in the village for a particular period. Estimating an average of 6 persons per household (based upon census records for 1930-39 and upon family trees and records for

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TABLE II. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN BISHMEZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, PER PERIODS OF 50 YEARS; 1750-1939

| Year | Households | Population |
|---|---|---|
| 1750 | 18 | 108 |
| 1800 | 36 | 216 |
| 1850 | 121 | 726 |
| 1870 | | 1000 |
| 1890 | | 1202 |
| 1900 | 234 | 1404 |
| 1939 | 203 | 1218 |

previous periods) the map may be condensed into the following table (II):

It will be observed that the village population has increased steadily and rapidly until the period 1890-1900, when the peak was reached—between 1,200 and 1,400 people. For the past fifty years, the population has remained stagnant or has shown a slight decrease. The village resources could support that number and no more. The surplus was taken care of by emigration.

P.64 (B)

10.7; Belgium, 7.8; France, 0.9; Ireland, 6.3; Russia, 16.7; England, 11.0; See Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1930. pp. 215-217.

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The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of tenants was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children; grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

## Plural Marriage

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It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

## Sex of Members of the Household

### 3.21 Head of household, Table 5

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The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

### 3.22 Children of head of household, Table 6

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Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

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It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

p. 5(B)

### 3.23 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7

592
162 Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

### 3.24 Siblings of head of household. Table 8

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

### 3.25 Other family members in household. Table 9

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

### 3.26 Servants of household. Table 10

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592 Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living-in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

## Age at Marriage of Members of Household

### 3.31 Male head of household. Table 11

592 The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had
800 not married. The modal interval for age at last

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357 married (88 %). Many of these continue as servants until marriage and are then replaced by younger unmarried girls.

## Age Distribution

### 3.41 Population pyramid, Chart 1

162 The population pyramid as indicated in the sample seems to show a fairly normal distribution of ages with the exception of a bulge in the female group between sixteen and twenty. The lowest level bracket (0-5) covers a span of six years. This was done deliberately to compensate for the fact that the 1952 interviews covered the period between August and December, while the 1953 interviews were only from January to July. Therefore, the youngest age group was collected in parts of two calendar years, but covers only one full year.

### 3.42 Male head of household and wife of household head or female head of household. Table 22

The average age of male heads of households is forty-five. This is to be compared to the average of their wives and female heads of households which is almost thirty-nine. Interestingly enough, the modal age for both sexes falls in the same interval of 36-40. However, there is a decided tendency to marry younger among the women. By the time they reach the modal age only forty percent of the males as compared to fifty-eight percent of the females are married.

### 3.43 Birthdate by post-mandate, mandate or pre-mandate years.

128* Birthdates of household members were tabulated in three groups, those who were born after the mandate, those born during the mandate, and those born before. The purpose of this tabulation is to indicate to what extent household members were exposed to mandate rule with all that that implies in cultural conditioning.

### 3.44 Male head of household. Table 23

162 Of the male heads of household, about

p. 7(A)

162 eighty-five percent were born prior to the mandate, the remainder during the mandate.

### 3.45 Female head of household and wife of household head, Table 24

As in case of men, the women heads of households and wives of household heads were in great majority born before 1922 (70 %). However, thirty percent compared to fifteen percent for the men, were born during the mandate.

### 3.46 Children of head of household, Table 25

The majority of the children of the heads of households, unlike their parents, were born during the mandate years (64 %). Only a few were born before the mandate. As might be expected, a detailed breakdown of the children from the first to the twelfth indicates a shift from the pre-mandate and mandate birth years to post mandate time. Thus for the sixth through twelfth children a majority have been born under the Republic.

### 3.47 Father and mother and father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 26, 27, 28, 29

Both fathers and mothers of heads of households as well as fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law all dated back to before the mandate.

### 3.48 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 30

Over three-quarters of the grandchildren of heads of households have been born since the mandate rule ended.

### 3.49 Siblings of head of household, Table 31

162 592 It is interesting to note that the siblings of the heads of households have a majority born during the mandate years, unlike the heads of households themselves. This is to be expected inasmuch as the oldest boy is the normal heir to the position of head of household upon the the death of the father.

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3.49.1 **Other family members, Table 32**

As with siblings, other family members tend to be a younger group than the heads of households with almost two-thirds being born during the mandate.

3.49.2 **Servants of household, Table 33**

Of all the household dwellers, the servant group has a larger percentage born during the mandate than any other. Almost four-fifths fell into this group.

P 8 (A)

12; Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

## Household Head

### 5.1 Birthplace of head of household. Table 54

166 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and
167 Aley. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (7%), Palestine (5%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question in present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure consists almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

### 5.11 Citizenship of head of household, Table 55

● 162 167 The permanency of residents is complicated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

## Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

### 5.21 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household. Tables 56, 57

166 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 39 & 43

p. 12(1)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table

162
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Population Size, Residential Floors and A
Estimated from the Sample and T

| District | Total | Floo | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Residential | |
| | | Number | % of Total |
| Total | 40195 | 33812 | 84.12 |
| I Port | 1337 | 43 | 3.22 |
| II Minet el Hosn | 2008 | 1412 | 70.33 |
| III Zoukak el Blat | 1420 | 1217 | 85.71 |
| IV Bachoura | 2167 | 1683 | 77.68 |
| V Saifi | 1779 | 1150 | 64.65 |
| VI Medawar | 2122 | 1377 | 64.91 |
| VII Remeil | 3513 | 3076 | 87.50 |
| VIII Achrafieh | 5951 | 5459 | 91.74 |
| IX Mazra'a | 7090 | 6431 | 90.70 |
| X Mouseitbeh | 5702 | 5001 | 87.70 |
| XI Ras Beirut | 3835 | 3370 | 87.88 |
| XII Ain el Mreisseh | 1341 | 1112 | 82.93 |
| XIII Tinshack * | 1928 | 1738 | |
| Agglomerations in Medawar | | | |

* Tabulated separately because of special

Average number of apartments per resi
Average size of family

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ble 4

162 d Apartments and Non-Residential Floors
361 nd Total Buildings by Map Count

| Floors | | Apartments | Buildings | Population |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-Residential | | | | |
| Number | % of Total | | | |
| 6383 | 15.88 | 31394 | 2278[illegible] | 296029 |
| 1294 | 96.77 | 65 | 3[illegible] | 374 |
| 596 | 29.67 | 2146 | 9[illegible] | 12361 |
| 203 | 14.28 | 1850 | 7[illegible] | 10656 |
| 484 | 22.32 | 2558 | 1[illegible] | 14734 |
| 629 | 35.35 | 1748 | 8[illegible] | 10068 |
| 745 | 35.09 | 2093 | 1[illegible] | 12056 |
| 439 | 12.50 | 4676 | 1[illegible] | 26934 |
| 492 | 8.26 | 8298 | 3[illegible] | 47796 |
| 659 | 9.30 | 9775 | 4[illegible] | 56304 |
| 701 | 12.30 | 7601 | 3[illegible] | 43782 |
| 465 | 12.12 | 5122 | 1[illegible] | 29508 |
| 229 | 17.07 | 1690 | 5[illegible] | 9734 |
| 190 | | 2941 | 1[illegible] | 13212 |

[illegible]dal characteristics

[illegible]residential floor = 1.52
= 5.76

p. 30(e)

Table 5

Sex of Head of Household

| Sex | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1831 | 100 | |
| Male | 1663 | 90.82 | .007 |
| Female | 168 | 9.18 | |

Table 6

Sex of Children of Head of Household

| Sex | Total | Percent | sp. | 1st Child | Percent | 2nd Child | Percent | 3rd Child | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 5071 | 100.00 | | 1467 | 100.00 | 1243 | 100.00 | 961 | 100.00 |
| Male | 2804 | 55.29 | .007 | 894 | 60.94 | 681 | 54.79 | 483 | 50.26 |
| Female | 2267 | 44.71 | .004 | 573 | 39.06 | 562 | 45.21 | 478 | 49.74 |

| 4th Child | Percent | 5th Child | Percent | 6th Child | Percent | 7th Child | Percent | 8–12th Child | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 621 | 100.00 | 380 | 100.00 | 214 | 100.00 | 107 | 100.00 | 78 | 100.00 |
| 334 | 53.78 | 200 | 52.63 | 120 | 56.08 | 54 | 50.47 | 38 | 48.72 |
| 287 | 46.22 | 180 | 47.37 | 94 | 43.92 | 53 | 49.53 | 40 | 51.28 |

19; Churchill 5–6 (1968) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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10: Churchill 8-5 (1960) 1854 MEI Lebanon MEI

**Table 7**

Sex of Grandchildren of Head of Household

| Sex | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 212 | 100 | |
| Male | 126 | 59.43 | .034 |
| Female | 86 | 40.57 | .034 |

**Table 8**

Sex of Siblings of Head of Household

| Sex | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 358 | 100 | |
| Male | 171 | 47.77 | .026 |
| Female | 187 | 52.23 | .026 |

**Table 9**

Sex of Other Family Members in Household

| Sex | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 288 | 100 | |
| Male | 94 | 32.64 | .028 |
| Female | 194 | 67.36 | .028 |

**Table 10**

Sex of Servants of Household

| Sex | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 385 | 100 | |
| Male | 39 | 6.35 | .010 |
| Female | 355 | 93.28 | .010 |
| No Answer | 1 | .17 | |

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Table 20

Age at Marriage
of Other Family Members in Household

| Age | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 288 | 100 | |
| 15 and under | 8 | 2.78 | .026 |
| 16 - 20 | 76 | 26.39 | |
| 21 - 25 | 21 | 7.29 | |
| 26 - 30 | 13 | 4.51 | |
| 31 - 35 | 5 | 1.74 | |
| 36 and over | 2 | 0.69 | |
| Unmarried | 159 | 55.21 | .029 |
| No Answer | 4 | 1.39 | |

Table 21

Age at Marriage
of Servants of Household

| Age | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 595 | 100 | |
| 15 and over | 5 | .84 | |
| 16 - 20 | 11 | 1.85 | |
| 21 - 25 | 3 | .50 | |
| 26 - 30 | 6 | 1.01 | |
| 31 - 35 | 4 | .67 | |
| 36 and over | — | — | |
| Unmarried | 527 | 88.57 | .013 |
| No Answer | 39 | 6.56 | |

M2

Table 23

Birthdate of Male Head of Household
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1665 | 100 | |
| 1946 - Present | — | — | |
| 1922 - 1945 | 251 | 15.08 | .008 |
| Before 1922 | 1413 | 84.86 | .008 |
| No Answer | 1 | 0.06 | |

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Table 22

Age of Male Head of Household
and
Wife of Household Head
or
Female Head of Household

| Age | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 1683 | 1684 |
| 16 - 20 | 10 | 12 |
| 21 - 25 | 73 | 176 |
| 26 - 30 | 149 | 230 |
| 31 - 35 | 162 | 199 |
| 36 - 40 | 195 | 206 |
| 41 - 45 | 243 | 242 |
| 46 - 50 | 234 | 181 |
| 51 - 55 | 207 | 143 |
| 56 - 60 | 130 | 97 |
| 61 - 65 | 97 | 56 |
| 66 - 70 | 66 | 22 |
| 71 - 75 | 30 | 5 |
| 76 - 80 | 11 | 3 |
| 81 - 85 | 3 | 4 |
| 86 - 90 | 2 | — |
| Over 90 | — | 1 |
| No Answer | — | 1 |

Table 24

Birthdate of Female Head of Household
and Wife of Household Head by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1683 | 100 | |
| 1946 - Present | — | — | |
| 1922 - 1945 | 500 | 29.71 | .011 |
| Before 1922 | 1183 | 70.30 | .011 |
| No Answer | — | — | |

p. 24(b)

Table 35

Birth-date of Children of Head of Household by
Post Shrouton, Shanbahu or Pramanabahu Years

| Year | Total | Percent | 1st Child | Percent | 2nd Child | Percent | 3rd Child | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

| 1st Child | Percent | 2nd Child | Percent | 3rd Child | Percent | 4th Child | Percent | 5th Child | Percent | 6-10th Child | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

**Table 26**

**Birthdate of Father of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years**

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 35 | 100.00 |
| 1945 - Present | — | — |
| 1922 - 1945 | — | — |
| Before 1922 | 35 | 100.00 |
| No Answer | — | — |

**Table 27**

**Birthdate of Mother of Head of Household by Post Mandate Mandate or Pre-mandate Years**

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 232 | 100.00 |
| 1945 - Present | — | — |
| 1922 - 1945 | — | — |
| Before 1922 | 232 | 100.00 |
| No Answer | — | — |

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**Table 28**

**Birthdate of Father-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years**

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 4 | 100.00 |
| 1945 - Present | — | — |
| 1922 - 1945 | — | — |
| Before 1922 | 4 | 100.00 |
| No Answer | — | — |

**Table 29**

**Birthdate of Mother-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years**

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Total | 51 | 100.00 |
| 1945 - Present | — | — |
| 1922 - 1945 | — | — |
| Before 1922 | 51 | 100.00 |

10-Checkit 3-3 (1970) 1964 ADI London 1973

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Table 30

Birthdate of Grandchildren of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 212 | 100.00 | |
| 1945 - Present | 167 | 78.77 | .028 |
| 1922 - 1945 | 45 | 21.23 | .028 |
| Before 1922 | — | — | |
| No Answer | — | — | |

Table 31

Birthdate of Siblings of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 358 | 100.00 | |
| 1945 - Present | 7 | 1.95 | .028 |
| 1922 -1945 | 210 | 58.66 | .025 |
| Before 1922 | 138 | 38.55 | |
| No Answer | 3 | .84 | |

U.S. Census 1970 (1969) 1-C (Census Use)

Table 32
Birthdate of Other Family Members
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 285 | 100.00 | |
| 1945 - Present | 27 | 9.47 | |
| 1922 - 1945 | 183 | 64.21 | .029 |
| Before 1922 | 71 | 24.91 | .026 |
| No Answer | 4 | 1.40 | |

Table 33
Birthdate of Servants
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

| Year | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 586 | 100.00 | |
| 1945 - Present | 4 | .68 | |
| 1922 - 1945 | 474 | 70.68 | .018 |
| Before 1922 | 98 | 16.47 | .015 |
| No Answer | 19 | 3.19 | |

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15. Chevalier F-5 (1969) 1964 MIT Census 103

Table 54
Birthplace of Head of Household

| Country | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1933 | 100.00 | |
| Urban Lebanon | 511 | 26.43 | .010 |
| Rural Lebanon | 828 | 42.83 | .011 |
| Syria | 144 | 7.45 | .006 |
| Palestine | 96 | 4.97 | .005 |
| Iraq | 11 | 0.57 | |
| Jordan | 1 | 0.05 | |
| Turkey | 232 | 12.00 | .008 |
| Iran | 3 | 0.16 | |
| Egypt | 17 | 0.88 | |
| England | 6 | 0.31 | |
| U.S.A. | 17 | 0.88 | |
| France | 15 | 0.78 | |
| Other Europe | 21 | 1.09 | |
| Other Africa | 8 | 0.41 | |
| Other Asia | 11 | 0.57 | |
| South America | 7 | 0.36 | |
| Other | 5 | 0.26 | |

Table 55
Citizenship of Head of Household

| Country | Number | Percent | sp. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 1920 | 100.00 | |
| Lebanon | 1610 | 83.86 | .008 |
| Syria | 111 | 5.78 | .005 |
| Palestine | 87 | 4.53 | .005 |
| Iraq | 6 | 0.31 | |
| Jordan | 3 | 0.16 | |
| Turkey | 9 | 0.47 | |
| Iran | 7 | 0.36 | |
| Egypt | 13 | 0.68 | |
| England | 5 | 0.26 | |
| U.S.A. | 12 | 0.62 | |
| France | 23 | 1.20 | |
| Other Europe | 19 | 0.99 | |
| Other Africa | 3 | 0.16 | |
| Other Asia | 7 | 0.36 | |
| South America | 2 | 0.10 | |
| Other | 3 | 0.16 | |

# POPULATION PYRAMID FOR BEIRUT

| Males | Females |
|---|---|
| 2 | 1 |
| 4 | 2 |
| 16 | 4 |
| 19 | 8 |
| 51 | 14 |
| 72 | 31 |
| 118 | 61 |
| 155 | 72 |
| | 122 |
| | 119 |



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13. Churchill S-S (1969) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

(a) ٢٦ م

McGulick E-5 (1952)1954 MH Lebanon MEI



621 178 167 458 scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

## IV

621 178 Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the efforts of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

621 178 162 464 *Economics.* The most far-reaching changes in al-Mansūrī, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Mansūrī only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 13 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 36, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 36 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

621 178 349 The residence factor can also be [illegible] in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Mansūrī. In 22 of these all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split: in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

Th Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

# THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

*Afif I. Tannous*

THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments—the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village—which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

[1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Fashionable Form," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 319.

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[*] Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural composition of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report of the United Nations—Lebanon Agricultural Mission*, of which he was a member.

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twenty degrees of latitude. The desert in Syria is of rock and gravel more than of sand, and there are hills rising above 3,000 feet both north and south of Palmyra; more than a third of the total area of Syria is steppe or desert.

*Rivers*

The Orontes flows from the northern part of the Bekaa through the lake of Homs (which holds about 260 million cubic yards of water) to Hama and through the Ghab depression to Turkey. The Litani rises not far from the Orontes but flows at first southward and later west through a deep gorge in the Lebanon mountains into the sea between Tyre and Sidon. The Euphrates runs through Syria for about 430 miles and has, as tributaries from the north, the Balikh and the Khabur. It is on the Euphrates and its tributaries that there is the best prospect of developing hydro-electricity and irrigation.

*Climate*[1]

Over this diverse scene the temperatures vary in the year from below freezing to above 100°F., and on the same day it is possible to ski near the cedars of Lebanon and swim in the sea at Beirut. The rain, which in most places comes between November and February, varies from almost nothing in the desert to about 40 inches a year in the mountains. In the coastal strip the winters are not severe but there is high humidity and small diurnal variation in the summer and this makes the season seem unpleasant and prolonged. In the mountains the snow lies on the topmost peaks for most of the year and the road from Beirut to Damascus is blocked by snow at times in most winters; in the summer the days are hot but the nights are cool enough to drive up to the mountains most of the inhabitants of Beirut. The plateaux and desert have an inland climate with low humidity and higher extremes of heat and cold. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus but in both cities there is a distinction between the four seasons: spring from mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to the beginning of October, autumn in October and early November, and winter from November to March.

*The People*

Official statistics showed that in 1931 the populations of Syria and of Lebanon were 3,319,137, and 1,213,041 respectively. Over half the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, about half a million are nomads, and the rest live in towns. The

[1] See table, below, p. 500.

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chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 359,000 Damascus, the capital, 305,000; Hama, 134,000; Latakia, 90,000; Deir az-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 247,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 38,800; Zahle, 38,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

*Religion*

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

| | Syria | | Lebanon | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Population in 1947 | Seats in 1947 | Population in 1932 | Seats in 1951 |
| Sunni | 1,090,308 | 43 | 175,183 | 11 |
| Shia (incl. Alawis) | 467,000 | 21 | 72,532 | 5 |
| Druse | 84,000 | 4 | 31,000 | 2 |
| Maronite | 140,000 | 6 | 226,000 | 6 |
| Orthodox Greek | 116,000 | 5 | 153,000 | 4 |
| Orthodox Armenian | 90,000 | 4 | 40,000 | 2 |
| Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite) | 70,000 | 3 | 20,000 | 1 |
| Catholic Greek (incl. | 70,000 | 3 | 46,000 | 3 |
| Catholic Armenian (incl. | 30,000 | 1 | 15,000 | 1 |
| Catholic Syrian (incl. | 20,000 | 1 | 10,000 | 1 |
| Catholic Chaldean (incl. | 10,000 | 1 | 5,000 | 1 |
| Protestant | 20,000 | 1 | 14,000 | 1 |
| Jewish | 30,000 | 1 | 6,000 | 1 |
| Minorities | 30,000 | 1 | 6,000 | 1 |
| Total | 3,000,000 | 102 | 1,000,000 | 44 |

The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:* the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 140,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1940's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious were

* For further details see A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

2 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druses, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

S L [illegible]

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

S L 142 262 291 177

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

## History

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Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, although yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria or

Lebanon ME1

# Chapter Nine

## LEBANON

### *Distribution of Minorities*

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THE following table shows the distribution of the Lebanese population by religious confessions and districts on December 31, 1944:

| Sect | Mohafazat of Beyrouth | Mohafazat of Mount Lebanon | Mohafazat of North Lebanon | Mohafazat of South Lebanon | Mohafazat of the Beqa' | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunnis | 59,593 | 20,569 | 102,462 | 23,418 | 29,753 | 235,595 |
| Shi'is | 10,679 | 18,048 | 1,017 | 126,701 | 51,693 | 209,338 |
| Druses | 1,926 | 59,303 | 34 | 6,167 | 6,881 | 74,311 |
| Maronites | 13,404 | 178,248 | 86,476 | 27,992 | 21,726 | 327,846 |
| Greek Catholics | 5,840 | 13,470 | 1,841 | 17,118 | 24,011 | 64,280 |
| Greek Orthodox | 20,073 | 22,373 | 47,322 | 6,911 | 13,002 | 109,883 |
| Protestants | 3,760 | 3,023 | 730 | 1,795 | 1,110 | 10,440 |
| Latins* | 2,191 | 540 | 63 | 179 | 144 | 3,117 |
| Armenian Orthodox | 36,264 | 13,379 | 1,025 | 1,695 | 5,386 | 59,749 |
| Armenian Catholics | 5,362 | 3,091 | 194 | 273 | 1,128 | 10,048 |
| Syrian Catholics | 4,089 | 273 | 169 | 9 | 442 | 4,984 |
| Syrian Orthodox | 2,070 | 209 | 100 | 22 | 1,332 | 3,733 |
| Jews | 5,022 | 63 | 31 | 306 | 42 | 5,666 |
| Chaldeans | 974 | 120 | 1 | 10 | 225 | 1,330 |
| Various | 452 | 359 | 3,279 | 32 | 119 | 6,261 |
| TOTAL | 174,001 | 335,774 | 246,964 | 212,848 | 157,014 | 1,126,601 |

*i.e. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite.

Thus 53 per cent of the Lebanese population is Christian, 46 per cent Moslem. The largest single community is the Maronite, which includes 29 per cent of the population.

### *Written Guarantees*

The Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, contained 000

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,012, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

| Province | Total |
|---|---|
| Latakia .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Aleppo .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Hama .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Homs .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Hauran .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Damascus .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Euphrates .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Jezira .. .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Jebel ed Druz .. .. .. .. .. | |
| Total .. .. .. .. .. | 2,860,411 |

(This estimate excludes the Bedouin, whose number is estimated at 400,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($16 to $140) with an addition of another £L500 ($220) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other two schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalaureate*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *Brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commissioner's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to have a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

[18] The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs. Foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

[162, 177] They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language

[illegible]

[illegible] mean temperatures at Beirut ranges from 56° to 60° F. in January and February and from 78° to 82° F. in July and August. The corresponding mean maximum temperatures average 65° to 68° F., and 88° to 92° F., respectively; the mean minimums, 46° to 52° F., and 70° to 74° F., respectively. The daily range approaches 12° to 15° F. in the summer and somewhat less in the winter. The relative humidity reaches 70 to 75 per cent during the summer and the winter months, but drops to 45 to 60 per cent in the transition periods. In general, the temperatures in the Bekaa are comparable with those of the littoral region, but the seasonal and the daily fluctuations are greater, while the humidity is lower.

## POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Population

The population of Lebanon was estimated at almost 1,210,000 in 1948, an increase of over 400,000 since the last census in 1932. The people are of mixed ethnic origin, although ancient Semitic and Arabic strains predominate in all parts of the country. Lebanon occupies a unique position among the Arab states, in that Christian and Moslem elements are almost equally prominent, both numerically and politically, among the indigenous populations. The official statistics are compiled on the basis of religious affiliations, emphasizing the vital role of the different communities in the life of the State. The Maronites, Catholics who adhere to western forms of ritual but have acknowledged allegiance to the Vatican since the 12th century, numbered around 399,000, or almost 33 per cent of the population, in 1948. They represent the largest single group, and are concentrated to a considerable extent in the coastal mountain districts from Tripoli to Sidon. The remaining Christian minorities included about 153,000 Greek Orthodox, 72,400 Greek Catholics, 40,000 Armenian Orthodox, 15,400 Armenian Catholics, 12,000 Protes-

p. 110(a)

[illegible] ments and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 350,000 Sunnites and 224,000 Shiites, represented slightly less than 45 per cent of the population. The Druzes, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 70,000. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 30 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 4,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 110,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 926,000 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1953, about 80 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 450 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 350 in North Lebanon, and 290 in South Lebanon, but declined to 100 in the principally fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,500 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 70,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education to the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women. It gradually averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

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CHAPTER IV

# LEBANON

Of all the Arab League countries, Lebanon was the most reluctant to take part in the recent outbreak of anti-Jewish persecution. It was also the first member-nation of the Arab League to restore normal conditions after the conclusion of the armistice with Israel and to abolish restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jews during the fighting.

Lebanon differs from the rest of the Arab countries in a number of ways. First, there is no Muslim majority. Its population is composed of a number of minority groups, none of which individually constitutes a clear majority. The Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, together number only about 447,000, against approximately 600,000 Christians (Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, etc.) and 77,000 Druzes. The latest census —held in 1944—gives the number of Jews as 4,383, a figure probably increased since then by the steady influx of Jews from Syria to something over 6,500.

A number of Christian Arabs in Lebanon have, it is true, played an important part in the revival of Arab nationalism, mostly in the field of literature. But that has not prevented the Christian community as a whole from regarding the movement with a certain feeling of uneasiness. Albert Hourani (*Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford, 1946, p.120) describes the uneasy relations between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon as follows:

> Arabism has not yet determined its relationship with Islam. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not even most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are not/are Muslims; or not Muslims at all; usually there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for communal ends (Muslim ascendancy).

Apart from the tendency of the greater part of the Arab nationalist movement to rely on Islam as a rallying cry, its generally anti-Western orientation has provided a further obstacle to whole-hearted support in the country. For no country in the Middle East has taken as easily to Western civilization as Lebanon.

The fact that so high a proportion of its inhabitants are Christians has always made it a specially fruitful field for Western educational missions. The French *Mission Laique* and the American University in Beirut have both played an important part in raising the general level of education, and there is scarcely a middle-class family in

LEGISLATIVE REF

[illegible] brought some regional visit. Close and cherished ties accompanies. Another important factor was the impact on behavior of the development of Middle Europe processes movements, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Some projections have been made to between the Soviet-Bloc [illegible], equipment in 1975 and 1976, and the [illegible] connecting the Soviet railheads with Sofia, completed in 1981. A refinery was built in Srbijski and started work there. Software has also benefited from the creation of offices of old companies in Bonn. In addition, it has received many incentives, as well as some reprisal, from the oil producing countries and has applied exports to these countries. For example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent to aid on track on, were severely, to infringement steps. Finally, [illegible] paid to the Government by the oil companies for [illegible] are [illegible] connected to recent years.

The development of Western trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade has made possible to encouragement and improvement of the part of Belgian country before the Second World War, development of [illegible] communications, purchase of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free area to the harbour from 5,000 square [illegible] in 1970 to 71,000 in 1980 and 145,000 in 1985. Although the development of [illegible] has diverted some of Europe's trade, Belgium which remains a commercial [illegible] of that trade as well as a large [illegible] of that [illegible], which previously passed through Sofia. The opening of a new outlook on Belgium, in 1981, has also encouraged transit of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Belgium has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent [illegible] of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Belgium as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased as shops and restaurants to play a significant part in the country's economy.

## Agriculture

Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, mainly [illegible] the [illegible] population still owns a considerable [illegible] agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for more than two thirds of the national income [illegible] per capita income in agriculture is less than the average in other sectors. The predominance of [illegible] agricultural [illegible] is [illegible] with [illegible], mainly [illegible]. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of [illegible] hectares, [illegible] hectares consist of [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible], [illegible] hectares consist of [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible]. Of the [illegible] area, [illegible] hectares are [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

# VII. LEBANON AND THE MINORITIES

THE greater part of the population of the Levant States, as it was stated in the last chapter, is Arab by language and tradition; in addition the majority is orthodox Moslem by faith. There are, however, a number of communities which are not Arab, others which are heterodox Moslems or not Moslems, and some which are neither Arab nor Moslem.

The religious minorities are more numerous and of greater importance in the country's political life than the national minorities. The following list shows the sectarian composition of Syria and Lebanon:

| Community | | Syria | Lebanon | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. Moslems and pro-Moslem sects | 1. Sunnis | | | |
| | 2. Shi'is | | | |
| | 3. Druses | | | |
| | 4. Alawis | | | |
| | 5. Ismailis | | | |
| | Total | | | |
| B. Christians | 6. Maronites | | | |
| | 7. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite | | | |
| | 8. Greek Orthodox | | | |
| | 9. Greek Catholics | | | |
| | 10. Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) | | | |
| | 11. Syrian Catholics | | | |
| | 12. Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians) | | | |
| | 13. Armenian Catholics | | | |
| | 14. Assyrians and Chaldean Catholics | | | |
| | 15. Protestants | | | |
| | Total | | | |
| C. Jews | | | | |
| D. Miscellaneous | | | | |
| | Total | | | |

These sects [illegible] per cent of the total population are orthodox Sunni Moslems, [illegible] per cent belong to other Moslem communities, and [illegible] per cent are Christians.

[illegible]

points in the nationalist programme other than those which are emphasized by the Moslems; they also sometimes conceive of themselves as having a special duty to perform in the movement. For example, some of the Christian nationalists regard it as their task to mediate Western civilization to the Arabs. This sense of a special duty makes for difference, if not for opposition.

6

This much can be said of the whole of Syria and Lebanon. But if a more detailed analysis is to be attempted, Lebanon must be separated from Syria. While in Syria, and in the Levant States taken as a whole, the Sunni Moslems have an overwhelming preponderance, in Lebanon neither they nor any other community forms an absolute majority of the population, and the number of Christians of different sects is slightly greater than that of Moslems, orthodox and heterodox.

Inside Lebanon also a distinction must be made. As will be described later,[1] the Lebanese Republic of to-day was formed after the First World War, by the addition to the pre-war autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon, which consisted mainly of Mount Lebanon itself, of certain towns and outlying districts. In the former, the population is almost entirely Christian (mainly Maronite) and Druse. The additions included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida (Sidon) and Sur (Tyre), and the districts of the Biqa' in the east and Jebel Amil in the south. In the towns the population is largely Sunni Moslem, although there are also numerous Shi'is, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and Armenians (mainly in Beirut). In the Biqa' and Jebel Amil the Shi'i Moslems are predominant, but here again there are large Greek Orthodox and Catholic and other communities.

In Mount Lebanon the majority is Christian, but the Druse community is large and strong enough to have played at least an equal and sometimes a greater part in the history of the Mountain. Thus the sectarian composition of Mount Lebanon is very different from that of the rest of the Mandated Territories. To a great extent also its history has diverged from that of other parts of geographical Syria. This has given rise to a specific Lebanese tradition. It is a tradition of asylum: communities of sects and tribes, driven for one reason or another

[1] See Chapter III, p. 170.

● At times the plains of the interior, have found refuge in the previously almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been unrest and suspicion between them, but in normal times they have lived peaceably together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental causes were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from descending more than a little into and the formal recognition of their sovereignty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. In principle and sometimes in fact the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principate tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Shihabis, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the canons of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, where the political power was in weak hands the possessions and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that this feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of *clericalism*. More even than other Syrians were they were dominated by their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and retain its identity; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

# X. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1920–1936

1

642 THE political organization described in the last chapter
643 remained fundamentally unchanged until 1936. In two out of the four units the years 1920–1936 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1925 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Article 90 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 91 stated that when circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

644 Some of the Moslem and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way; it was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the
● 645 frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had
646 contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Moslems were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For text of the Constitution, see J. B. Kelly, Documents for Constitutional Reference, 1965 edition, Oxford University Press, Volume I, pp. 218–23.
[2] See Chapter 8 (1).

of the population. Several of these were possessed a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 2 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

# APPENDIX B

RECENT STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF SYRIA AND LEBANON

More up-to-date estimates of the population than those given in Chapters V and VII have come to hand since the text of this book was completed. They are as follows:

## TABLE I

POPULATION BY PROVINCES ("MOHAFAZAHS")

Syria:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mohafazat of Damascus | [illegible] |
| Aleppo | [illegible] |
| Homs | [illegible] |
| Hama | [illegible] |
| Hasetah | [illegible] |
| Euphrates | [illegible] |
| Jazirah | [illegible] |
| Jebel Druse | [illegible] |
| Lattakia (Alawite) | [illegible] |
| Total | [illegible] |

Lebanon:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mohafazat of Beirut | [illegible] |
| Mount Lebanon | [illegible] |
| North Lebanon | [illegible] |
| South Lebanon | [illegible] |
| Bekaa | [illegible] |
| Total | [illegible] |
| Total for Syria and Lebanon | [illegible] |

Notes:

(i) The Bedouin are not included in the Syrian figures. Their total number has been estimated at about [illegible].

(ii) The Syrian figures give the population as it was at the end of 1945, the Lebanese figures are for the end of 1944.

APPENDIX 9

## TABLE II

### Population by Religious Communities

| Religious Community | Syria | Lebanon |
|---|---|---|
| Sunnis | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Shi'is | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Druses | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Alawis | [illegible] | — |
| Ismailis | [illegible] | — |
| "Latins" (i.e. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite) | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Maronites | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Greek Catholics | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Greek Orthodox | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Armenian Catholics | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Armenian Orthodox | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Syrian Catholics | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Syrian Orthodox | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Chaldaean Catholics | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Nestorians | [illegible] | — |
| Protestants | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Jews | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Yazidis | [illegible] | — |
| Various | — | [illegible] |
| Total | [illegible] | [illegible] |

433, 162, 464, 439

| | |
|---|---|
| Egypt | MER1 |
| Turkey | MB1 |
| Iraq | MH1 |
| Syria | MD1 |
| ● Lebanon | ME1 |
| Historical Palestine | MF2 |
| Israel | MF1 |

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309, Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310, Palestine - pp. 302-304, Israel - pp. 310-311./